WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE NEUTRALITY LAWS. SPEECH OF HON. ELI THAYER.

Of Massachusetts IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES JANUARY 7, 1858.

Mr. Chairman, it is my purpose to offer an amendment to the resolution which is now before the Committee, for the purpose of widening the proposed investigation. I do not intend to discuss at all the topics which the Committee has been considering during the past three Mr. Walker was legally or illegally arrested, or whether Commodore Paulding is to be censured or applauded for his action. I shall express no sympathy with the course pursued by the President. I have no intention to discuss his position in relation to this matter, neither is it my purpose to enter the lists with the gentleman from Tennessee, [Mr. Maynard,] who eulogized the heroism of Mr. Walker-a man, who, claiming to be the President of Nicaragua, and to represent in his own person the sovereignty of that State, surrendered without a protest, and without a blow, to a power upon his own soil, which he claimed to be an invading force. Whether this be heroism, I shall not now

I thrust aside, for the present, all questions of legal technicality in this matter; all the mysteries of the construction of the neutrality laws; all these questions which have engrossed the attention of the House during the last three days, and concerning which everybody has been speaking, and nobody caring; and I come to that great, paramount, transcendent question, about which everybody is caring and nobody is speaking: "How shall Americanize Central America?"

It may be a matter of surprise that pass over two or three questions which in their natural order seem to be antecedent to this one. And these questions are: First, Do we wish to Americanize Central America? Secondly, Can we Americanize Central America? Thirdly, Shall we Americanize Central America?

Now, Mr. Chairman, I say that whoever has studied the history of this country, and whoever knows the character of this people, and whoever can infer their destiny from their character and their history, knows that these three preliminary questions are already answered by the American people-that we do wish to Americanize Central America; that we can Americanize Central America; and that we shall Americanize Central America.

And now, Mr. Chairman, in relation to or shall we do it by conquest, by robbery, and violence? Shall we do it without abandoning national laws, and without violating our treaty stipulations? Shall we do it in accordance with the law of nations and the laws of the United States, or shall we do it by force, blood, and fire?

Now, Mr. Chairman, my position is

in favor of petit larceny; but I did not tion should say to his constituents, to the nation, and to the world, that he and the you cannot say a meaner thing about it any party, or that any individual in this larceny. Larceny, grand or petit, is not only disgraceful, but is absolutely and utterly contemptible. We do not go for the acquisition or Americanization of territory by larceny of any kind whatever, but fairly, openly, and honorably.

Then, sir, by what agency may we thus Americanize Central America? I reply to the question, by the power of organized emigration. That is abundantly able to give us Central America as soon as we want it. We could have Americanized Central America half a dozen times by this power within the last three years, if there had been no danger or apprehentive interference. But if we are to use this mighty power of organized emigration, we want a different kind of neutrality laws from those which we now have; and therefore I am desirous that this Commit-next session of Congress. tee shall recommend something which shall not subject us to the misconstruction of the President of the United States, or to his construction at all. I want these the wrong, whether he is violating those laws or is not violating them. For, Mr. Chairman, with our new-fashioned kind of emigration, with our organized emigration, which goes in colonies, and therefore must, of necessity, to some extent resemble a military organization, there is great danger that a President with a dim intellect may make a mistake, and subject to harassing and vexatious delays, and sometimes to loss and injury, a peaceful, quiet colony, going out to settle in a neigh-

boring State. Mr. Chairman, I can illustrate this position. You, sir, remember that in the year 1856, when it was bad travelling across the State of Missouri, on the way to Kansas, that our colonies went through the State of Iowa, and through the Territory of Nebraska. These were peaceful, quie colonies, going to settle in the Territory of Kansas, by that long and wearisome journey, because it was bad travelling through the State of Missouri. You remember that one of these colonies of organized emigrants, which went from Maine and Massachusetts, and from varions other Northern States, was arrested project, and not the Representatives who just as it was passing over the southern boundary of the Territory of Nebraska, on the reasons why the North should be more its way to its future home in Kansas. It was a peaceful, quiet colony, going out In the State of Massachusetts we have with its emigrant wagons, "all in a row," and therefore looking something like a a square mile, by the census of 1850. In military organization—going out with the State of Rhode Island we have one their women and their children, with hundred and twelve to the square mile. sub-soil plows with coulters a yard long, by the same census. In the State of Con-[laughter,] with pick-axes, with crowbars, with shovels, and with garden seeds. This beautiful colony was arrested by the you see, it was not fiction, it was not poetry, officials of the present Executive's prede- not a stretch of the imagination, when I cessor. It was by some mistake, no doubt. Perhaps he took the turnip-seed for powder; and I doubt whether the case would have been better if the President had been there himself. This colony was arrested within our own dominion. It was not an

row for mutual defence, through the wild, uncultivated Territory of Nebraska, where there were Indians, they were arrested as a military organization. We do not want hereafter, either within the limits of the United States or without them, any such meddlesome and vexatious interference by the executive power of this Government. Therefore, I say, let us have some neutrality laws that can be understood. If there had been no apprehensions in the North about the neutrality laws, if we had not expected that whatever emigration we might have fitted out for Central America would have been arrested within the marine league of the harbor of Boston, why, we would have colonized Central Ameridays. I am not here to consider whether ca years ago, and had it ready for admission into the Union before this time. We want a modification or an elucidation of the neutrality laws, and I trust that it will

be the duty of the committee so to report. Before I proceed to consider the power and benefits of this system of organized emigration, and the reason why it ought not to be rejected by this House, I will proceed, as briefly as I can, to show the interests which the Northern portion of this country has in Americanizing Central America, as contrasted with the interests which the Southern portion has in doing the same thing. I come, then, to speak of the immense interests which the Northern States have in this proposed enterprise. I am astonished, that so far in this debate the advocates for Americanizing Central America seem to be mostly from those States which border on the Gulf of Mexico. As yet, I have heard no man from the Northern States advocating the same thing. Let us look at the interests of the Northern States in this question, and then at those of the Southern

These Northern States are, as the States of Northern Europe were designated by Tacitus, officina gentium, "the manufactory of nations." We can make one State a year. In the last three years we have colonized almost wholly the Territory of Kansas. We have furnished settlers to Minnesota and Nebraska, and the Lord knows where, but we have not exhausted one-half of our natural increase. We have received accessions to our numbers in that time, from foreign countries, of more than one million of souls, and now we have no relief; we are worse off to-day than we were when we began to colonize Kansas. We must have an outlet somewhere for our surplus population. [Laughter.]

Sir, I have a resolution in my pocket, which I have been carrying about for days, waiting patiently for an opportunity to present it in this House, instructing the Committee on Territories to report a bill organizing and opening for settlement the Indian Territory. Mr. Chairman, I the manner and agency. How can we came to this conclusion with reluctance, Americanize Central America? Shall we that we must have the Indian Territory.

agree with him when he said he was in thing can be accomplished. This progfavor of grand larceny. I regret that a ress must be onward, and we must have Americanize Central America. A better Democratic party were "rather in favor of time could not be; for, in addition to the grand larceny." Larceny is larceny; and population which we now have, which is immense in the Northern States, as I shall than to call it by its own name. I am show you in proceeding, this financial pained that this report has gone forth, that pressure in the East, and in the different Central America. nations of Europe, will send to our shores House, or connected with this Govern- in the year 1858 not less than half a milment, is in favor of grand larceny or petit lion of men. In addition to that, we have emigration. And, sir, what is its power? two hundred and fifty thousand of our own population, who will change localities in that time. Then, sir, there are seven that time that time. Then, sir, there are seven that time that the time that the time that the time that hundred and fifty thousand men to be pre- If we can form a com any, or a number

this system of organized emigration. Now, could anything be more opportune, at this time, than to have this pro-ject submitted to us, of opening Central my laugh, sir, at the President and his America to settlement? I assure you, if the Committee will report any bill which Committee will report any bill which sion of meddlesome or vexatious Execu- will enable the people of the North, with- Givernment, great and mighty at they out larceny of any kind, without tyranny of any kind, to settle that country, I will the Constitution of this land, which can postpone my resolution for the opening in any way interfere with our progress, or of the Indian Territory, at least until the

furnishing an outlet for our immense pop- the power of this agency, which I tell ulation in the North that I now advocate you, is the right one for us to mak, use of the Americanizing of Central America. in getting Central America if we ant it, neutrality laws so plain that every man The interests of commerce, as well as or in Americanizing Central America, as may know whether he is in the right or in this great argument of necessity, are on | w are sure to do. our side. Who has the trade beyond Central America? We have whale fisheries in the Northern Ocean, which build United States. For m. self, I care cothing up great cities upon the eastern shore of a out it, and I do not know whether the Massachusetts. We have trade with Ore- people of this country are ready for that gon and California, with the Sandwich Islands, and the western coast of South America. We are opening a trade, destined to be an immense trade, with the Empires of China and Japan, and we must of necessity have in Central America certain factors and certain commercial agencies, who, in a very few years, with their families and relatives and dependents, will make a dense population in Central America. I say, then, that for the interests of commerce we want Central America Americanized. This commercial interest is, unfortunately, a sectional interest in these States. It is, emphatically, a Northern interest; and therefore, as a Northern man, I advocate especially that Central America should be

Americanized. Now, sir, I said I was astonished that gentlemen who come from States bordering upon the Gulf, had advocated this come from Northern States. Let us see zealous than the South in this movement. one hundred and twenty-seven people to necticut we have seventy-nine. In the State of New York we have sixty-five. So,

told you that the descendants of the Pil-

grims were in a tight place. [Laughter.] But how is it with the States which border upon the Gulf? Look at it and border upon the Gulf? Look at it and see. They have, some of them, eighty-nine hundredths of a man to the square lone, perplexing perple who are in igemigration to a foreign country, and there was no danger of interference with the have one and the forty-eight hundredth logical dogmas; but with the preachers ecutive interferences. [Langhter.] Then These quiet, peaceful part of a man to the square mile; and, we send the chu

of Mexico.

sure, the enumeration of the slaves in sion and despotism in Central America.

pefore 1860 sufficiently to be comfortable. "Alone, unfriended, melancholy slow," Mr. MAYNARD. W th the permission whether he will pled e himself for his constituents, and for all those he represents, that when they get down there they in hand with the pioneer; and not Chris-

benefit upon them to send out q ilonies man prizes those right more highly than I do. I think that understand their power and their value and I am glad to welcome among the ist of political regenerators the gentlem in from Mis ssippi with such large, wide and noble views upon this question. I, o not here cadorse his whole speech. I did not har the whole of it. I do not know what ye said about Mr. Walker, w ether he effends him, or whether he dies not. Fr myself, I do not say that I defend him, or that I do not, at this time. I wait for the report of our committee, to know what are the facts in this cas , and whet jer he

is fit to be defended or not. Now, sir, I am rejoiced that have found aid and comfort n a great p litical missionary movement from a quarter do it legally and fairly, or illegally and un- But necessity knows no law. We must where I least expected it. This argufairly? Shall we do it by conferring a go somewhere. Something must be open-benefit on the people of Central America, ed to the descendants of the Pilgrims. [Laughter.] Why, sir, just look at it. We deny that it is always, more or less, poare crammed in between the Atlantic and lent with the North, p rhaps not so po-Pacific Oceans. The bounding billows of lent with the North as with the S outh our emigration are dashing fiercely against very likely we are more material a d less both sides of the Rocky Mountains. Obstructed now by these barriers, this westward-moving tide begins to set back. Will the sun as do those geatlemen will borflow towards Canada? Not at all. It der on the Gulf; but we live near a nough

emigration. You might as well try to sir! In addition to that great argument do not need any great argument to induce when he told us yesterday that he was not shut out from this continent, by curtains, of philanthropy, we have not only he ar- men to take such a position, if you can the light of the aurora borealis. No such gument of necessity, by; the argur ent of only induce them to believe that such is making money; and when you take the effect. Well, sir, such is the effect; those three arguments, and combine them, and now let us apply it to the people of Representative of the people of the United States in the Council Hall of the nathrink it most opportune that the proposition of the people of the United States in the Council Hall of the nathrink it most opportune that the proposition of the people of the United States in the Council Hall of the nathrink it most opportune that the proposition of the people of the United States in the Council Hall of the nathrink it most opportune that the proposition of the United States in the Council Hall of the nathrink it most opportune that the proposition of the United States in the Council Hall of the nathrink it most opportune that the proposition of the United States in the Council Hall of the nathrink it most opportune that the proposition of the United States in the Council Hall of the nathrink it most opportune that the proposition of the United States in the Council Hall of the nathrink it most opportune that the proposition of the United States in the Council Hall of the nathrink it most opportune that the proposition of the United States in the Council Hall of the nathrink it most opportune that the proposition of the United States in the Council Hall of the nathrink it most opportune that the proposition of the United States in the Council Hall of the United States in the Council Hall of the United States in the Council Hall of the Nathrink it most opportune that the United States in the Council Hall of the United States in the Council Hall of the Nathrink it most opportune that the United States in the Council Hall of the United States in the Council Hall of the Nathrink it most opportune that the United States in the Council Hall of the Nathrink it most opportune that the United States in the Council Hall of the United States in sition seems to be before the country to Northern men, though they are n & very mobile nor ver; fickle.

So much, Mr. Chair pan, for the comparison of interests bet veen the Nerthern and Southern people of these Inited States in relation to the Americaniting of

I come now to discuss, briefy, pared for, somewhere, in the year 1858- of companies, which con control the emimen enough, sir, to make eight States, if gration of this country -the foreig demiwe only had Territories in which to put gration and native emi ration-I tell you, them, and if we only use them economically, [laughter,] as we are sure to do by petentate or emperor i pon the face of the eath; and that comp ny, or those comn; tions wherever and whenever we please. But it is not only for the purpose of Ten, sir, there can be no doubs about

Now, Mr. Chairman I have said sothing al out annexing Central America to the p oposition yet. I think, however, they ould rather annex - thousand square leagues of territory thin to lose & single square foot. To be sire, sir, we have a vews. I will not condemn them for eir views. They have a right to cherish st what views they please in relation to amber of sour and disappointed policians, who, though they do not profess ent, profess indifference as to its continuance. But the great and overwhelming ingle square foot of our territory, unless first be baptized in blood and fire. hat is the sentiment of the great majority f the people of the North—that no porball ever be released from our possession. We understand that this Union is a partership for life, and that the bonds that old us together cannot by any fatuity be

undered until this great Government is irst extinguished and its power annihilaed. That, sir, is our sentiment about he Union, and such may be the present entiment about annegation. But I have to doubt what the future sentiment of the ountry will be about annexation. I have 10 doubt we will have Central America in this Government, and all between this and Central America also. Well, sir, we have now come to the

logical dogmas; but with the preachers ecutive interferences. [Laughter.] Then school, we shall see how the thing will work in colonists, because their wagons went in a taking them altogether, we have just we send the mechanic and the farmer; Central America.

those States, for the ge tleman from Ten- But we take the countries that are nearnessee [Mr. Maynard informed is that est first; and now we propose to use this

Dragging at each remove a length'ning chain." f the gentleman, I desire to ask him stealing away from the institutions of will not make slaves of the people they tianity alone, but the offspring of Chrisnd there?

Mr. Thaver. Certailly I will dolt; and all the inventions of which she is the will say more on that subject here after. I mother; creating all the differences bewill say to the gentlem an upon the other side who have advocated this right of emmunity and one in degradation and ignoigration, and have no jersonal int rest in this matter, that the can have no percuniary interest in it, for they have no but now, by this method, it is tending to men to spare for this enterprise. And especially do I honor the gentlem n from Mississippi, [Mr. Quitn an,] who professed to be moved by argume at sof philat thropy n relation to this destion, and who behind the dead and decayed branches maintained that the people of pentral which encumbered the old, with the vigor-America were oppressed, that they peeded ous energies of youth it presses on and our assistance, and that it was conferring ascends. Sir, such a State will be the State of Kansas, eclipsing in its progress mong them to aid them to get rid of all the other States of this nation, because their oppressors. This is more than pa-triotism. It approaches universal cother-in this way, have not to serve half a cenhood. I am glad that that gentleman is defending the rights of emigratio. No begin with schools and churches, and you will see what the effect is upon communities that are so established.

But I will speak now of that which constitutes the peculiar strength of emigration of this kind, and that is, the profit of the thing I have shown you how efficient it is, and I will now show you how the method works, to some extent. It is profitable for every one connected with it; it is profitable to the people where the colonies go; it is profitable to the people of the colonies; and it is profitable to the company which is the guiding star and the protecting power of the colonies. It does good everywhere. It does evil no-

Sir, you cannot resist a power like this. A good man often feels regret when he knows that by promoting a good cause he is at the same time sacrificing his own means of doing good, and is becoming weaker and weaker every day. It is a great drawback upon beneficent enterprises, even upon philanthropic and Christian enterprises, that the men who sustain them are lessening their own great mistake to suppose that a good cause can only be sustained by the lifeblood of its friends. But when a man But, in addition to that, just loo; at it, ulties are in harmony. [Laughter.] You Central America. What reason will they have to complain, if we send among them our colonies, organized in this way with their sub-soil plows, their crow-bars, their hoes, their shovels, and their gardenseeds? What reason will they have to complain? Why, the fact is, that, unless our civilization is superior to theirs, the effort would, in the beginning, be a failure; it never can make one inch of progress. power and benefits of this new n de of Then, sir, if we succeed at all, we suc ceed in planting a civilization there which tion except by violence, and it is almost

impossible to do it in that way. Well, sir, if we give them a better civilization, the tendency of that better civilization is to increase the value of real estate; for the value of property, the value of real estate, depends upon the character of the men who live upon the land, as well as upon the number of men who live upon it. Now, sir, we either make an absolute failure in this thing, and do not trouble them at all, or we give them a better civilization, and, in addition to that,

we give them wealth. Thus, sir, with bands of steel we bind the people of Central America to us and to our interests, by going among them in this way; and they cannot have reason to complain, nor will they complain. If we had approached them in this way two years ago, without this miserable meddlesome method, induced and warranted, or supposed to be warranted, by the neutrality laws, we would have filled Central America to overflowing by this time, and would have had with us the blessings of every native citizen in that portion of

country. Now, sir, if such is the way, if such is the power, if such is the effect of this method, to the emigrants, and to the people among whom they settle, why should we not now adopt it in reference to Cenfi w men in the North who honesely hate tral America? And what is the method? this Union. I will not criticise their Why, it is as plain and simple as it can be. It is just to form a moneyed corporation which shall have two hundred thousand dollars capital; which shall then is question. Sir, there are still a larger obtain and spread information through the country, by publications, indicating what are the natural resources of Central Amertatred to this Union, co, to a certain ex- ica, and the inducements to emigrate thither; showing how it is situated in relation to commerce, and how, of necesreasonity of the people of the North, sir, as sity, there must speedily be built upon tunit, are determined that no force, internal or external, shill ever wrest from Then you have to apply a portion of these he jurisdiction of the United States a means to buying land and to sending out steam-engines, and to building some hotels to accommodate the people who go there, and also some receiving houses for the emigrants. Establish there and encourage there the establishment of the mechanic arts, and I tell you that every steam-engine you send there will be the seat of a flourishing town; every one will be an argument for people to go there; for they talk louder than individuals a thousand times, and they are more convincing a thousand times, especially to an ignorant and degraded people, than anything men can say, because the argument is addressed to the senses; it makes them feel comfortable; it gives them good clothes; it gives them money. These are the arguments to address to an ignorant and degraded people, and not cannon balls, or rifle balls, nor yet mere abstract

about three men to the square mile in all we send all that makes up great and flour- But, sir, I expect, when the people of those States which bor ler upon the Gulf ishing communities; we send the powers the North shall hear that I am taking this that build cities; we send steam-engines, view of the question, that the timid will Now, sir, it would be folly for me to sir, which are the greatest apostles of lib- be intensely terrified, and say that we are argue, and there is no | ind of reas on for erty that this country has ever seen. That to have more slave States annexed to the supposing, that these S ates expect to do is the modern kind of missionary emigra- Union. I have not the slightest appreanything about colonizing Central America. They cannot affect to lose man. They had better give a ray two the usand dollars than to lose a single honest industrious citizen. They cannot afford it. I well be exerted against idol worship in I have heard that argument before; and it have left out of this calculation to be Hindostan and China, as against oppres- has been asserted that the Yankees who go into slave States oftentimes turn slaveolders, and outdo the Southern men the question of Slavery did not cone into this argument properly and I agree with him there. I think I e may agree with me, that by no possibil ty can Slavery ever be established in Central America. That is my belief. Just fx your neutrality laws, and we will fill u. Central America the question of Slavery did not cone into the ground in originating a nation in quick time for Central America. We read of a time when "a nation shall be born in a day." I think it may be done in some such way as this. By this method of emigration the pioneer does not go into the wilderness the had economy of the system.

The there are no doubt that they outdo them, if they do anything in that line at all. [Laughter.] The Yankee has never become a slaveholder unless he has been forced to it by the social relations of the same general expression, namely the same train of calamities and disasters. The interval from one of these revulsions to another has twice been forced to it by the social relations of the slave State where he lived; and the Yankee who has become a slaveholder, has, every day of his life thereafter, felt in his every day of his life thereafter, felt in his every day of his life thereafter, felt in his every day of his life thereafter, felt in his every day of his life thereafter, felt in his eager desires for great and sudden gains, the themselves. I have no doubt that they very bones the bad economy of the system. It could not be otherwise. Talk about our Yankees, who go to Central America, becoming slaveholders! Why, sir, we can buy a negro power, in a steam-engine, for ten dollars, [laughter,] and we can clothe and feed that power for one year clothe and feed that power for one year for five dollars; [renewed laughter;] and expanding, these desires, unchecked, never fail, are we the men to give \$1,000 for an African slave, and \$150 a year to feed and clothe him?

No, sir. Setting aside the arguments

about sentimentality and about philan-

thropy on this question, setting aside all poetry and fiction, he comes right down to the practical question-is it profitable? The Yankee replies, "not at all." Then there is no danger of men who go from Boston to Central America ever owning slaves, unless they are compelled to by their social relations there. If a man goes from Boston into Louisiana, and nobody will speak to him unless he has a slave nobody will invite him to a social entertainment unless he owns a negro; and if he cannot get a wife unless he has a negro; then, sir, very likely he may make up his mind to own a negro. [Laughter. But I tell you that he will repent of i every day while he has him. He cannot whistle "Yankee Doodle" with the same relish as before. He cannot whittle in the same free and easy manner. He used to cut with the grain, with the knifeedge from him; now, he cuts across the grain, with the knife-edge towards him. The doleful fact that he owns a negro, is a tax upon every pulsation of his heart. Poor man! There is no inducement for the Yankees to spread Slavery into Central America, and there is no power in any other part of the country to do it. Therefore, most fearlessly do I advocate the Americanizing of Central America We must have some outlet for our overwhelming population. Necessity knows no law; and if we cannot have Central America, we must have the Indian Territory; we must have something; we are not exhausted in our power of emigration; we are worse off than we were before the opening of Kansas. Not one-half of our natural increase has been exhausted in colonizing that Territory, and furnishing people for Oregon and Washington. We might, as I told you, make eight States a year, if we only used our forces economically; and we will use them economthis: that we will do it legally; that we will do it legally; that we will do it in accordance with the highest laws, human and divine.

In our own State there are fifty-four banks—bank, and the appears of philar hropy to us are not made in vain.

In our own State there are fifty-four banks—bearts, and the appears of philar hropy to us are not made in vain.

In our own State there are fifty-four banks—bearts, and the appears of philar hropy to us are not made in vain.

In our own State there are fifty-four banks—bearts, and the appears of philar hropy to us are not made in vain.

In our own State there are fifty-four banks—bearts, and the appears of the State Bank, and the same time make money by it, all his facically by establishing, not for the present country-just as far as it is known to the people-not a single man who has any sense will emigrate in any other way than by colonies. Just look at the difference between men going in a colony and going alone. Suppose a man goes to Central America, and settles there alone; what is his influence upon real estate by settling there alone? There is no appreciable difference from what it was before: but if he goes there with five hundred men from the city of Boston to establish a town, by that very act he has made himself wealthy. I can point to numerous examples of this kind. Hence this making money by organized emigration is not going to be speedily relinquished. Depend upon it that we have only begun to use it, and that we have not used i with the efficiency with which it will be used in a year to come. Now, sir, for these reasons I hope that the committee to which this question

shall be referred, will so modify and elucidate the neutrality laws, that we shall not hereafter be subjected to this Executive interference. And, in accordance with the views I have expressed, I now offer

the following amendment: "And, also, that said committee report. so far as they may be able, the present social and political condition of the people of Nicaragua, and whether they invite colonies from the United States to settle among them; and, also, whether the soil, climate, and other natural advantages of that country are such as to encourage emigration thither from the Northern States of this Confederacy."

Now, Mr. Chairman, I will state briefly my reasons for submitting that amendment. The gentleman from Mississippi Mr. Quitman referred to the social and political condition of the people of Central America, as a proper basis, I think he said, for our action. Therefore, with open arms, do we welcome that gentleman and his associates to our noble brotherhood of missionary political regenerators. For myself, I am willing to take the gentleman's words about the necessity of something being done to aid these people; but in grave matters of legislation like this, the committee having the subject in charge should first fully investigate in reference to

the matters suggested by my amendment. I do not intend any offensive sectionalism by using the word Northern; that the committee should inquire whether the natural advantages of soil and climate of Central America were such as to invite emigration thither from the Northern States. so phrased the amendment because, as I have shown you, the Northern States are the only ones which can furnish emigration that would be of any consequence to Central America. We would be glad to receive whatever help the States on the Gulf could give us, but it is impossible for them to give much help in this work. And because the Northern States have the power in this matter, and because the Southern States have not the power, I have used the words, that the committee shall inquire specially whether the climate and the soil are such as to encourage emigration to Central America from the Northern States. If, however, there be objection to it, I will strike out the word "Northern," and leave the inquiry to be general.

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We alluded briefly last week to the very able message of Governor Chase, of Ohio, His views on some of the Questions of the Day, of general interest, are so just and statesmanlike, hat we are sure our readers will be gratified to

THE FINANCIAL REVULSION. I have already adverted to the financial vulsion, which has, during the last six months, so seriously affected the varied interests of our

community.

Twice before, during the present century, have similar revulsions occurred; and both were accompanied by the same train of calam-ities and disasters. The interval from one of eager desires for great and sudden gains, the spirit of ostentation and luxury, seek gratification through debt. As there is no limit to these passions of the heart, so there is no limit to debts contracted for their gratification, except notorious insolvency, which makes credit impossible. Always most active when prices under such circumstances, to reach their crisis in enormous and universal indebtedness, to be speedily and certainly followed by wide-spread llapse and disaster.

For nearly ten years past, the circumstances of the country have tended to these results.

The influx of gold from California has rapidly augmented from year to year the volume of the circulating medium; which has been still farther expanded by a vast, though not equal, in-crease of credit currency. In 1848, before the importation of gold from California had commenced, the respective amounts of coin and bank notes in the country were as follows: Coin, \$126,753,027; bank notes, \$128,506,041. In 1857, the respective amounts were— \$276,100,442; bank notes. \$214,778,222. The whole currency in 1848 was \$255,259,118 The whole currency in 1857 was 490,878 664 The increase of currency was - 235,619,546 The increase of coin was - -149.367.418

The increase of bank notes was - 86,272,181 The rapid augmentation effected by the increase of coin alone could not fail to produc marked effects in the rise of prices, in the mul-tiplication of transactions, in the enlargement of credits, and in the increase of debts. The of credits, and in the increase of debts. The when accompanied with a recommendation of additional stimulation of this tendency by the the issue by the General Government of a large further introduction of \$86,232,171 of credit currency, sufficiently accounts for all the effects which have been witnessed.

No system of currency can insure complet protection against speculation, debt, and revulsion; but that system which, more than any other, directly tends to produce and in-flame these evils, is, without question, the sys-tem of credit currency. That system, therefore, chiefly demands precautionary measures

Credit currency in the United States is sup plied by banks, in the form of notes circulating as money. The number of these banks, on th 1st of January, 1856, was 1,398; their capital \$343,874,272; their circulation, \$195,747,950 their deposits, \$212,705,662; their other liabilities, \$64,947,823; their specie, \$59,314,063 their resources other than specie, \$820,713,362 The number of banks at the present time prob ably somewhat exceeds 1,400. Their circulation is stated at \$214,778.822, their deposits at \$230,358,352, and their specie at \$60,000,000 It needs but a glance at this statement to per ceive that a currency so expanded must great ly stimulate hazardous speculation, and tend to financial disorder; and that, under the exigency of such disorder, the credit currency become, in part or altogether, inconvert ible into coin.

der the act of 1851. After a detailed statement of their condition

he proceeds:

It will be seen, from the foregoing statement that the condition of these banks, so far as i is tested by a comparison of specie and other cash means with immediate liabilities, was stronger in November than it had been in August. The laws under which these institutions were organized were framed with especial reference to the security of the bill-holder. All the branches of the State Bank are made sureties for the circulation of each; and the con vertibility of the notes of others is required to be guarantied by pledges of State or United These salutary provisions have protected the

people against serious losses from depreciation of the notes of the banks organized under them; and it is highly creditable to their management, that they have passed through the recent crisis, made doubly perilous to many of them by the embezzlement of their cash bal-ances and collection bills at New York, without a suspension of specie payments.

Still, it cannot be denied that the danger of

a general suspension has been imminent, or that some of these institutions have actually been in a condition of legal, while others hav been in a condition of virtual, suspension. These facts must neccessarily direct your at the people against the hazard of so great an evil. How far the provisions of the charters of the banks organized under the act of 1845 will admit of additional guards against suspension, is matter of doubt. The decision of the majority of the Federal Supreme Court, that the charter of a bank by legislative enactment is a contract, and cannot therefore be modified by subsequent legislation, makes the reforma tion of evils in credit currency always difficult and often impossible.

At the present moment, however, it seems not improbable that an act might be framed acceptable to these institutions and beneficial to the community, by which a much larger specie basis would be provided for circulation and deposits than is now required, and other additional securities obtained against suspen-

The act of 1851, under which the other Banks are organized, is amendable at the discretion of the Legislature. Their circulation is secured by the deposit of equal amount in State or Federal bonds. It is plain, that in a financial crisis, when bonds of all descriptions are depreciated, this security becomes inadequate. I recommend the provision of adequate guards against such a contingency, by an increase of the proportion of bonds to circulation, and by a prohibition of the deposit of any other bonds than those of the State, or of the United States. The experience of the last few years has demonstrated, however, that the greatest financial disasters in Ohio have not been occasioned by legally authorized banks of issue. Most of the calamities which have recently fallen upon the business community of this State have originated in the failure of private bankers and of the Trust Company, issuing no notes for cir-culation. Many of these bankers, and perhaps the Trust Company also, however, were bor rowers from banks outside of the State, of foreign notes, at low rates of interest, to be circulated in Ohio, and redeemed, when returned to the issuing banks, by the borrowers. The effect of these arrangements was to introduce into the State a mass of foreign bank paper, which expelled from circulation not only nearly all the coin, but also nearly all the notes of our own banks, and exposed the community to great inconvenience and loss. I suggest the expediency of so modifying the act of February 24th, 1848, relating to the circulation of unauthorized bank paper, as to prevent effectually this mischief. Additional protection to the business community, as well as substantial bene-fits to the sound and strong banks themselves, would result from the establishment of a Clear-ing House in Cincinnati for the banks of Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana, either through the voluntary action of the institutions concerned, or by the concurrent legislation of the States. In a former communication to the General

Assembly, while admitting the convenience of or warrant. No act of Congress, in my judga mixed currency of coin and convertible notes, and the improbability that a currency entirely of coin will be soon adopted in the country, I expressed my own opinion in favor of a currency of coin for ordinary transactions, and of large notes for the convenience of commerce, and at the same time urged the necessity of the most stringent legislative guards against suspension of specie payments, and against a the constitutional rights of a Federal court, nor mere paper-money system. ent reflection and oh

Office. 573 Subsequent reflection and confirmed me in these views.

A leading object in all regulations of cur- concede to Federal writs or Federal officials a rency should be to secure the interests of the masses of the people, by such provisions as will insure to labor just compensation in actual value. This cannot be effected while the laborer is paid in paper, subject to continual fluctuations paid in paper, subject to continuation pa

Whatever can be constitutionally effected by State legislation, towards the exclusion of the smaller denominations of notes for circulation, and the substitution of coin in their place, should be earnestly attempted. The quantity of coin in the country is now so great, and so steadily increasing, that no injury and almost no inconvenience could arise to any interest, from judicious legislation for this object. On the contrary, it seems to me certain that the juries upon a regular trial and in open court increased circulation of coin which will thus be secured cannot fail to result in most substantial benefits to all interests, by additional secu-rities against fluctuation and revulsion. These benefits seem to me so obvious, that I should hope for the assent of the banks themselves to the legislation necessary to secure them.

The existence of the decision already refer-

red to; the uncertainty of obtaining the assent of the banks to the necessary legislation; the fact that we are surrounded by States whose banks issue such notes; and the practical difficulty of excluding the notes of these banks from circulation in Ohio-created the apprehension I have heretofore expressed, that comparatively little can be accomplished in the direction of the proposed reform by State legislation. These apprehensions yet remain. The effectual remedy is with the Federal Government. Looking at the manifest intent of the Constitution to protect the people from the evils of a paper currency, as well as to the specific powers granted to Congress, I cannot doubt the power of the National Legislature to prohibit the circulation as money of any substi-tutes for coid. Nor can I doubt that the exercise of that power by the gradual prohibition of notes of the smaller denominations, under twenty dollars, would be wise and salutary. The denial of this power virtually submits the regulation of commerce in its most important instrumentality to the variable and conflicting policies of thirty-one States, and defeats one of the main purposes of the Constitution.

Entertaining these views, I have observed with regret the recent declarations of the Chief Magistrate of the United States, that "the Federal Government cannot do much to provide against the recurrence of existing evils," and that "we must mainly rely on the patriotism and wisdom of the States for their prevention and redress." Such declarations, especially addition to the mass of paper currency, in the form of Treasury notes, are calculated to frostrate the hopes of reform which might be otherwise reasonably entertained. While I do not doubt that the General Assembly will do whatever may be within its constitutional power towards the object proposed, I respectfully submit that its whole duty will not be performed until this matter be commended to our Sena-tors and Representatives in Congress by appropriate resolutions. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND STATE SOVEREIGNTY.

There are some aspects of the relations of Ohio with the Federal Government, to which I feel myself constrained to invite your atten-

In my last communication to the General Assembly, I stated some reasons for believing that there is a large sum due to the State from the United States, under the compact relating to the proceeds of public lands disposed of within our limits. I recommend the adoption of resolutions, instructing our Senators and requesting our Representatives in Congress to

urge the payment of this claim.

The President of the United States and the Secretary of the Federal Treasury have recommended to Congress the enactment of a bank rupt law, applicable only to banks and railroad In our own State there are fifty-four banks— companies. Such a law would draw within thirty-six branches of the State Bank, and Federal jurisdiction and disposition interests of vast extent, and intimately connected with the pensable to the sovereignty of the State, that she retain the control of these corporations in her own Legislature and her own courts. If the General Assembly concurs with me in this opinion, I trust its sentiments will be made known in some appropriate mode.

A disposition has been manifested, within the last few years, by some of the officials of the Federal Government, exercising their functions within the limits of Ohio, to disregard the authority and to encreach upon the rights of the State, to an extent and in a manner which demands your notice.

In February, 1856, several colored persons were seized in Hamilton county as fugitive slaves. One of these persons, Margaret Garner, in the frenzy of the moment, impelled, as it seems, by the dread of seeing her children dragged, with herself, back to slavery, attempted to slay them on the spot, and actually succeeded in killing one. For this act, she and her com- Government can secure the admission of Kancanions were indicted by the grand jury for the sas into the Union under this slave State Concrime of murder, and were taken into custody

upon a writ regularly issued from the Court of Common Pleas. While thus imprisoned under the legal process of a State court, for the highest crime a vast majority of her electors are opposed to known to our code, a writ of habeas corpus was issued by a Judge of the District Court of the behalf of Slavery. I trust that the General United States, requiring their production be- Assembly will give emphatic expression to the fore him. The writ was obeyed by the Sheriff, sentiments of the people. and, contrary to all expectation, and in disregard, as I must think, of principle and authority. the prisoners were taken from his custody by order of the Judge, and, without allowing any opportunity for the interposition of the State authorities, delivered over to the Marshal of the United States, by whom they were immediately transported beyond our limits. The alleged ground for this action and order was, that the

ndicted parties had been seized as fugitive slaves, upon a Federal Commissioner's watrant, whole power of the National Government has before the indictment and arrest, and that the been exerted to force Slavery upon the relucright to their custody, thus acquired, was supe- | tant people of Kansas. Under this influence, the State. This doctrine must necessarily give the people of the free States to Federal domi practical impunity to murder, whenever the nation, through the administration of the Fugimurderer may be soized by a Federal official tive Slave Act. Under this influence, finally, as a fugitive from service before arrest for the the Federal Judiciary has promulgated the recrime under State authority. Imputing no wrong intention to the Judge, I am constrained to add that his proceeding seems to me an abuse, rather than an exercise, of judicial

A similar case occurred more recently in the county of Champaign. Several deputies of the Federal Marshal, having arrested certain citizens of this State, for some alleged offence against the Fagitive Slave Act, a writ of habeas corpus was issued by the Probate Judge of the people. It forces upon the country momentous county, requiring the arrested parties to be brought before him, for inquiry into the grounds of detention. The Sheriff of Clark county, while attempting to execute this writ, was assaulted by these petty officials, and seriously wounded, while his deputy was fired upon, though happily without effect. A warrant was tion, in fact, what it is now claimed to be, the issued by a Justice of the Peace, for the apprahension of the perpetrators of these offences. This warrant was duly executed, and the prisoners committed to jail, under the custody of establish Slavery everywhere, outside of free the Sheriff of Clark county. A writ of habeas States, or Liberty everywhere, outside of slave corpus was then issued by the same Dietrict States, of Liberty everywhere, outside of slave States? Shall the power which it confers be used for the extension and perpetuation, everywhere, of human bondage, or of human freecounty to produce his prisoners before him at dom? the city of Cincinnati. This writ was also obeyed, and the prisoners were discharged from custody, by the order of the Judge, on the ground that, being Federal officers, and charged and free institutions. The mainspring of their control of the mainspring of the mainspri with the execution of a Federal writ, they had prosperous progress is in the prohibition of Slaa right to overcome, by any necessary violence, all attempts made, under the process of a State hibition, transferred into her Constitution, which court, to detain them or their prisoners, even has attracted within her borders the free laborfor inquiry into the legality of the custody in ers of so many lands, who have so largely conwhich these prisoners were held.

United States to arrest the execution of State | the founders of their institutions with ignoprocess, and to nullify the functions of State rance of the true principles of popular Governcourts and juries, whenever in his opinion a ment, nor contribute by their suffrages to the person charged with crime under State author. extension or continuance of an evil and wrong ity has acted in the matter forming the basis from which they have been so happily delivered of the charge, in pursuance of any Federal law by the wise forecast of the Fathers of the Re ment, sanctions this principle. Such an indeed, would be clearly unconstitutional, because in plain violation of the express provision which requires that the trial of all crime shall

be by jury.

It is deeply to be regretted that collisions of this kind should occur. The authorities of Ohio have never failed in due consideration for

deference which is not conceded to those of

cess in pursuance of a constitutional law, he should be remanded at once to the custod from which he may have been taken for tria in due course. No investigation should tak place into the guilt or innecence of the party charged, or, what is substantially the sam thing, whether the facts were justified by th authority under which the applicant was active at the time. Inquiries of this character are fr not for a judge in chambers. If made unc one side upon habeas corpus, they must als be made upon the other. If Federal court are to protect Federal officials from present tion by State courts for alleged violation State law, State courts, in their turn, must pe tect State officers from prosecution in Feder courts under similar circumstances. Hence dangerous conflicts must arise, and immine peril both to liberty and Union. If such conflicts must come, to the extent

the power vested in me I shall maintain th honor of the State, and support the authori of her courts. I prefer to hope that they ma be averted by the abandonment, on the part of the Federal authorities, of the indefensible sitions which they have assumed. FEDERAL USURPATION IN KANSAS

The same disposition to extend the range of Federal power in disparagement of State sove eignty and popular rights, has been conspict ously manifest in the action of the Federa Government in regard to the Tetritory of Kat sas. From the day when that Territory was deprived of the safeguard of the Missouri pro hibition by the passage of the Kansas-Nebraski act, the whole action of the Federal Govern ent seems to have been directed to the estal lishment of Slavery within its limits. Instead of committing, in good, faith, to the people of the Territory, the formation and regulation of their own institutions, all the influence of th National Administration has been exerted for the subjugation of the people to the will of the propagandists of Slavery. The whole practi cal effect of the Kansas Nebraska act has beer the substitution of Presidential intervention for Slavery, instead of Congressional intervent against Slavery.

Without resistance or rebuke from the Na tional Administration, the actual residents of Kansas were driven from the polls at the first Territorial election, and a pretended Legisla ture was imposed on an unwilling people be the fraud and force of invaders from an adjoin ing State. The people, harassed and outraged beyond endurance by the tyranny of the usur-ing Legislature and its instruments, who were countenanced and aided by Federal office held ers, sought relief in a State organization Through a Convention assembled at Topeka they framed a State Constitution, and, after it ratification by the popular vote, sought admis sion under it into the Union. Their prayer for such admission, though granted by the House of Representatives, reflecting the will of the people, was denied by the Senate, reflecting, is

Every Federal officer in the Territory, who manifested any sympathy with the people, was, from time to time, removed, and bodies of troops were sent, to compel submission to

A few months since, under an act which practically disfranchised a vast majority of the citizens, a pretended election was held for members of a Convention to frame another Constitution. This Convention was constituted, as was intended, exclusively of the partisans of Slavery. It framed, of course, a slave State Constitution, and provided for its transmission to Congress without previous submission to the people for ratification. It proposed, indeed, to submit to popular judgment the question of Slavery or no Slavery, but so framed the terms of submission, that no matter how the people might vote. Slavery would, in any event, exist in the new State, if admitted into the Union un

der that Constitution. Happily, subsequent to the election of the Constitutional Convention, the period for the second election of a Territorial Legislature arrived, and at the election then held, the actual residents of the Territory succeeded in electing a majority of its members in both branches The people, mocked and insulted by the proage just narrated, now invoked from the Secretary of the Territory, acting as Governor, the convocation of this body. For compliance with this just demand, the Secretary was removed from office. For expressing himself in opposition to the admission of the State into vention, and without previous submission to the people, the Governor of the Territory fell under such displeasure of the Administration,

that he was constrained to resign his position If the power and patronage of the Federal stitution, that power and patronage will, without doubt, be actively employed to that end.
In all this the people of Ohio have a deep and vital interest. It is beyond question that

It cannot fail to arrest attention, that all

these encroachments of the Federal Government upon State sovereignty and upon the free dom of the Territories, arise from a determined purpose on the part of those who control its action to extend the domain and enlarge the power of Slavery. Under this influence, the ancient and original policy of Slavery prohibition was overthrown and reversed by the Kan-sas Nebraska act. Under this influence, the also, persistent attempts are made to subjugate volting doctrine, that the Constitution of the Union establishes and guaranties Slavery in all national territory, and consequently that there is no foot of our widely extended domain, outside of States whose Constitutions prohibit Slavery, where the free laborer can find a heme, exempt from the intrusion of that very peculiar institution.

This rapid progress of despotism cannot fail to arouse and fix the attention of reflecting issues between two opposite systems of Government-two opposite theories of the Constitution. These issues are radical and vital. Shall the Government of this country be administered bond and guarantee of Slavery; or what the Fathers of the Republic believed it to be, the shield and safeguard of Liberty? Does it

It is not doubtful where, upon these issues tributed to that wonderful development of ener-This principle cannot be sound. It subverts gies and resources which inspires, at once, fer effectually the sovereignty of the State. It asserts the right of any District Judge of the

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HENRY M. WHITNEY. will they thus fail. But they cannot admit, without dishonor, that State process is entitled to less respect than Federal, nor can they ever

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